

**KUḌḌA-RĀJAN AND ALLIED TERMS:
A SET OF DRAVIDIAN LOAN-WORDS IN PĀLI ***

In the *Pāli-English Dictionary* (*PED*) the word *kuṭṭa-rājan* — to be found under the entry *kuṭṭa*² — is given the meaning « subordinate prince, wattle and daub prince ». Nevertheless the *PED* considers also a possible variant spelling *kuḍḍa-rājan* and favours in this case a connection of it with the entry *kuḍḍa* « a wall built of wattle and daub ». But *PED*'s treatment does not seem on the whole satisfactory as it proposes different etymologies for the same term, which is unnecessarily entered in separate items. Besides there is no clear distinction between the two entries and their origin and form. In our opinion, the *PED* is inconsistent in regarding the origin of *kuṭṭa*² as doubtful and in assuming it, at the same time, essentially as a variant form of *kuḍḍa*, which is connected with *kṣud-*. Moreover the same or very similar meaning is ascribed to both entries.

We propose now to offer a different etymology common to both and wish first of all to reconsider the translation given by the *PED* and most scholars. The compound *kuḍḍa-rājan* will be examined in consequence.

Let us go into details. It is possible from the following contexts to gain some idea of the use of *kuḍḍa* as a simplex which, in our opinion, does not mean but « wall » and precisely « surrounding wall ». The passages are as follows:

Vin. II, 105 ... *kuḍḍe kāyaṃ ugghaṃsenti...*¹.

Vin. II, 117 ... *kuḍḍe pi thambe pi kaṭṭhinaṃ ussāpetvā...*².

* In the present paper Prof. D'Onza Chiodo is to be held responsible for pp. 147-154, and Prof. Panattoni for pp. 155-162.

1. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 67; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 142.

2. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 98; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 161.

- Vin. II, 133 ... *nakhaṃ chindanti kuḍḍe*³ *pi nighaṃsanti*...⁴
 Vin. II, 159 ... *cikkhallaṃ madditvā iṭṭhakāyo cinitvā kuḍḍe u-*
ṭṭhāpesi...⁵.
 Vin. III, 65 ... *attano vihārassa kuḍḍaṃ upatthambhesi*...⁶.
 Vin. III, 188 ... *paṭicchannaṃ nāma āsanaṃ kuḍḍena vā kavā-*
tena...⁷.

In all these contexts the rendering of *kuḍḍa* as « wattle and daub wall »⁸ is to be regarded as unnecessary, because there is nothing to indicate this peculiar meaning instead of the simpler one which is, for instance, mostly adopted in the translations of the following passages:

- Vin. II, 172 ... *kuḍḍalepanamattena pi navakammaṃ denti*...⁹.
 Vin. III, 81 ... *bhikkhū vihārassa kuḍḍaṃ uṭṭhāpentī*...¹⁰.
 SN. II, 99 ... *kuḍḍaṇce*¹¹ *nissāya tiṭṭheyya ye kuḍḍanissitā pāṇ-*
te naṃ khādeyyuṃ...¹².
 Vin. IV, 266 ... *kuḍḍo nāma tayo kuḍḍa iṭṭhakā-kuḍḍo sīla-kuḍḍo*
dāru-kuḍḍo...¹³.

In the last passage, in particular, the context makes it fairly clear that *kuḍḍa* denotes merely « a wall », since three different kinds of it are mentioned (wall of bricks, wall of stones, wall of wood)¹⁴.

In the *Buddhavaṃsa* the word occurs in its twofold reading and in its unquestionably non-specific meaning:

BV. 12 ... *kuḍḍa kavāṭa selā*...

BV. 36 ... *kuṭṭākavāṭa bhitti*...

3. vv.ll. AC *kuṭṭe*, B *kuḍḍena*. We may note here that the PED is wrong in stating *kuṭṭa* to be present only in compounds.

4. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 137; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 185.

5. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 190; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 223.

6. See *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 109.

7. Similar passages in Vin. III, 192; IV, 96, 269, 270. See *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 332.

8. Cp. Horner's translations in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 332; part 5, pp. 185 and 223.

9. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 213; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 241.

10. See translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 140 and n. 2.

11. vv.ll. B *kuṭṭa*, C *kuṭṭa*.

12. See translation in *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, II, p. 79.

13. See translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 3, p. 258.

14. Mention may be made in this connexion of another term, *pākāra*, denoting a fence or a rampart in general, for which the same three kinds of building materials are mentioned; cp. Vin. II, 121.

Instances of the same general meaning are also supplied by some passages where the diminutive form *kuḍḍaka* is found:

Vin. II, 152 *Anujānāmi... aḍḍhakuḍḍakan ti. Aḍḍhakuḍḍakā uparito olokenṭi*¹⁵.

Ja. I, 92, 24 ... *ekakuḍḍaka dvikuḍḍaka*...¹⁶.

Other examples in which *kuḍḍa* occurs as an element of a compound provide further information about the literal meaning of the word:

Vin. II, 120 ... *jantāgharassa kuḍḍapādo jīrati*...¹⁷.

Vin. II, 152 ... *vihārassa kuḍḍapādo jīrati... vihārassa kuḍḍo ovasati*...¹⁸.

Most of the translations (where *kuḍḍa-pāda* is rendered as « the lower part of the lath and plaster wall »)¹⁹ must be regarded as having been altered by the connection with a questionable etymology — as will be illustrated later on — according to which the rather general significance of the word has once more been improperly enriched with descriptive details²⁰. The next passages are worth quoting in this connection:

Vin. IV, 265, 11 ... *tirokuḍḍe chaḍḍentī*...²¹.

Vin. IV, 265, 33 ... *tirokuḍḍe vā tiropākāre vā*...²².

Vin. IV, 266 ... *tirokuḍḍe'ti kuḍḍassa parato*...²³.

AN. IV, 55 ... *tirokuḍḍaṃ vā tiropākāraṃ vā*...²⁴.

DN. I, 78 ... *avibhāvaṃ tirobhāvaṃ tirokuḍḍaṃ tiropākāraṃ*...²⁵.

Ja. IV, 411, 6* *Tirokuḍḍaṃ tiroselāṃ samatiggayha*...²⁸.

15. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 173; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 213.

16. PED: « having single or double walls ».

17. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 107 and n. 1; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 165 and n. 12.

18. See translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 174; *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 214.

19. E.g. Horner's translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 5, p. 165; Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's translations in *Vinaya Texts*, III, pp. 107 and 174.

20. Buddhaghosa's commentary to the last passage gives *bhitti* as a synonym of *kuṭṭa*. Cp. Vin. II, 321.

21. A similar passage in Vin. IV, 265, 27. Cp. *The Book of the Discipline*, part 3, p. 257.

22. Cp. *op. cit.*, part 3, p. 258.

23. Cp. *op. cit.*, part 3, p. 258.

24. v.l. MPh. *kuṭṭaṃ* or *kuṭṭaṃ*.

25. See translation in *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 31.

26. See translation in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 88. Similar passages in DN. I, 212; III, 112; MN. I, 34, 69, 494; II, 18; III, 11, 98; SN. II, 121, 212 (v.l. B **kuṭṭaṃ*); V, 264 (v.l. B **kuṭṭaṃ*), 274, 275; AN. I, 170, 255; III, 17, 280; V, 199; Paṭi 111, 207, 208, 227. In this connexion Vism 332 (Harvard Oriental Series, 41) explains *kuḍḍa* as *geha-bhittiyā adbhivacanaṃ*.

27. v.l. B⁴ -*kuṭṭaṃ*.

28. Cp. translation in *The Jataka*, VI, p. 256. The same verse in Ja. IV, 412, 1*.

- Ja.* IV, 470, 25* *Tirokuḍḍamhi gāyivā...*²⁹.
Khp. 6 *Tirokuḍḍesu tiṭṭhanti...*
Pv. 4-5 *Tirokuḍḍesu tiṭṭhanti...*
Ja. II, 431, 10 *...So anātho hutvā parakuḍḍam*³⁰ *nissāya, kālaṃ akāsi*³¹.

As regards *parakuḍḍam nissāya* in the last quotation, *PED*'s attempt to interpret it as « near another man's wall » seems to be very questionable from the fact that the commentary to *Ja.* IV, 411, 6, quoted above, gives for this expression³². A better idea of its meaning can perhaps be got from the fact that the commentary to *Ja.* IV, 411, 6, quoted above, gives *parakuḍḍam* as an equivalent of *tirokuḍḍam*³³. Moreover the commentary to *Khp.* 6 explains *tirokuḍḍā* as *kuḍḍānaṃ parabhāgā*³⁴ and the commentary to *Pv.* 4-5 as *kuḍḍānaṃ parato*³⁵.

A passage in *DhA.* I, 405, 22 ff. reads:

*... parakuḍḍe vā parasele vā paracakkavāle vā pana nisīda...*³⁶.

The combination of all these elements would seem to indicate fairly clearly that *parakuḍḍam nissāya* means « close to the outer part of the wall » and no more. Let us consider now the following passage:

Vin. III, 15 *... aññataraṃ kuḍḍamūlaṃ nissāya paribhuñjati...*³⁷.

Horner translates: « [S.] was eating... in the room provided for the purpose »³⁸. This peculiar rendering is explained by Horner herself: she remarks that in *VA.* 209 *kuḍḍa-mūla* is explained as « seats prepared in special rooms in the houses of the large householders where those going for alms sat down and ate the gruel offered to them »³⁹. On the contrary, the *PED* gives, in this precise connection, a separate entry for *kuḍḍa-mūla* and proposes the quite unsuitable rendering « a sort of root », which cannot possibly be guessed from the context. Moreover

29. Cp. translation in *The Jataka*, IV, p. 292; Ct. 472, 8': *... tirokuḍḍamhīti sayanagabbhakuḍḍassa bahi*.

30. vv.11. B¹ -*kuṭṭam*, B^a -*kuṭṭam*, S *kuḍḍam*(?).

31. Cp. translation in *The Jataka*, II, p. 294. The same passage in *Ja.*, II, 432, 10.

32. R. Chalmers translates: « The fellow was helpless, and fell down by a side wall and died ».

33. Ct. IV, 411, 11' ff.

34. *KhpA.* 206: *tirokuḍḍā ti kuḍḍānaṃ parabhāgā vuccanti*.

35. *PvA.* 24.

36. Burlingame translates: « You may sit... beyond a wall » (*Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 74).

37. An analogous passage in *Vin.* III, 16.

38. See translation in *The Book of the Discipline*, part 1, p. 27. The same passage in *SN.* III, 238 (v.l. B *kuṭṭa*).

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 5.

the same compound occurs in other passages where there is no trace of the meaning given by the PED:

Thag. 1056 ... *kuḍḍamūlaṇ*⁴⁰ *ca nissāya ālopan taṃ abhuñjisaṃ*...⁴¹.

Mrs. Rhys Davids translates: « leaning against a wall I ate my share »⁴². Much more close is, in our opinion, Norman's rendering: « near the foot of a wall I ate my portion »⁴³. Besides in the *ThagA* the commentator Dhammapāla seems to be consistent in explaining *kuḍḍamūlaṇ nissāya* as *ghara-bhitti-samīpe nisiditvā*, where the equation *kuḍḍa*=*bhitti* provides a further evidence of the general meaning of the word in question.

A special case in which *kuḍḍa* occurs as a simplex is found in:

MN. II, 62 ... *Raṭṭhapālo*... *aññataraṃ kuḍḍam*⁴⁴ *nissāya paribhūñjati*⁴⁵.

Horner's rendering is: « R. was eating... in a room provided for the purpose »⁴⁶. Not even here the context is such as to allow this specific meaning to be deduced, but Horner's translation is clearly based on the *varia lectio*, the parallel passages quoted above and their commentaries.

Our concern now is with a more detailed treatment of a passage which illustrates the use of *kuḍḍa* in a compound the translators have rendered somewhat inaccurately. The passage in *DN.* II, 146 is well-known:

*Mā bhante Bhagavā imasmiṃ kuḍḍa-nagarake*⁴⁷ *ujjaṅgala-nagarake sākha-nagarake parinibbāyatu*⁴⁸.

T. W. Rhys Davids translates: « Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township »⁴⁹. It is to be observed that he is rather hesitant about the meaning of *kuḍḍa-nagaraka*: he is inclined to disagree with Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*⁵⁰ according to which *kuḍḍa* should

40. vv.ll. *A kuṭṭamūlaṃ*, *C kaṭṭham**, *B kaṭṭum**.

41. The same verse in *Miln.* 395, for which see HORNER, *Milinda's Questions*, II, p. 272, n. 3: « sitting near a wall of a large house used as a place where recluses could eat their meals ».

42. Cp. translation in *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, II, p. 362.

43. Cp. *The Elders' Verses*, I, p. 97.

44. v.l. *B^m kuṭṭamūlaṃ*.

45. A similar passage in *SN.* 238, with a v.l. *B kuṭṭa(or kuṭṭu?)mūlaṃ*. Woodward translates: « leaning against a certain wall » (*The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, III, p. 190).

46. Cp. *The Middle Length Sayings*, II, p. 256.

47. vv.ll. *S^c kuḍḍha*; *B^m K khuddaka*.

48. The same passage in *DN.* II, 169; quoted in *Ja.* I, 391, 26, 29, where the form *khuddaka* only occurs.

49. Cp. *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 99.

50. *Kuḍḍa-nagarake ti patirūpake sambādhe khuddaka-nagarake: ujjaṅgala-nagarake ti visama-nagarake*.

be merely an old and unusual form for *kṣudra* and the Burmese correction into *khudda* unnecessary. On the contrary he thinks it is more likely to be the same as Skr. *kudya* meaning « a wall built of mud and sticks »⁵¹.

We propose now to offer a different explanation of the compound. Rhys Davids interpretation does not seem adequate to the text; in fact a survey of the whole material, as observed above, shows that Rhys Davids proposes too narrow a sphere of meaning to apply to the word. A simpler interpretation of *kuḍḍa-nagaraka* is, in our opinion, preferable. Not even in this context, indeed, there is any reason for developing a particular sense from the general one, as elicited from the manifold passages quoted above. Now, if it is conceded that the primary and main meaning « wall » is to be sought in the word *kuḍḍa*, a considerable change of rendering must be proposed here. That is to say the compound should denote a walled *nagaraka*, a little town provided with walls. This interpretation may be supported by further evidence. It is interesting to note that both the other two words, *ujjaṅgala* and *sākhā*, which are combined, like *kuḍḍa*, with the term *nagaraka*, specify different types of defences the town was provided with. Hence, if two of the words occurring together with *nagaraka* mean some sort of defence, it is quite reasonable that *kuḍḍa* also means something of the same kind. Besides we may assert that any alternative explanation of *kuḍḍa* by means of adjectives like *khuddaka* or *khudda*⁵² is rather improbable, because that element, as well as the other two, is a substantive with an attributive function: in this case a grammatical affinity can be supposed in addition to the semantic relationship. Therefore most of the translations of the passage in question are to be rejected, as they apply a depreciatory connotation to the nouns qualifying *nagaraka* and put only them in sharp contrast with the word *mahānagara* occurring later on in the text. On the contrary, we suggest that *nagaraka*, used as diminutive of *nagara* in the meaning « small town », is the only term to be opposed to *mahānagara* in the meaning « big town ». Our theory seems to be further strengthened when we look at the word *nagara* in itself, which, as Narendra Wagle has pointed out, in some cases clearly means a fortress rather than a city⁵³. Kusināra in particular was a town with a fort or a fortified enclosure. In *DN. II*, 170 the Buddha himself narrates the former glory of Kusāvati, which was surrounded by seven ramparts

51. Cp. *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 99, n.

52. So in the *paccupannavattthu* of *Ja. I*, 391, 26, 29, the only form *khuddaka* is perhaps to be regarded as a *lectio faciliior* of the word *kuḍḍa*. As to *khuddaka-rājan* occurring in *Ja. V*, 37, 26-27, together with *mahā-rājan*, it does not indicate « an inferior king », as in *PED*'s rendering, but simply a kind of kidney beans! Cp. Francis' translation in *The Jataka*, V, p. 21.

53. Cp. N. WAGLE, *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 24 ff. Such fortresses are described in *DN. II*, 83, *AN. V*, 194-95.

(*sattahi pākārehi parikkhittā ahoṣi*)⁵⁴. Confirmation comes from the Tibetan version of the same episode, which introduces the term *mkhar* « fort » in the description of Kusināra⁵⁵. The corresponding passage of the Sanskrit version has been reconstructed:

... *ku[nagaraḥ kuṃjakalake koṭṭe śākhāna]garake...* (MPS. 33, 2)⁵⁶

with the insertion of the word *koṭṭa* « fortress, stronghold », that is parallel to the above mentioned *mkhar* of the Tibetan text.

We now turn to the starting point of our discussion, the compound *kuḍḍa-rājan*, the meaning of which may be more precisely determined by all the evidence till now produced. Other individual passages may be quoted to confirm a particular connotation of *kuḍḍa-rājan* and to show that by this term the Pāli texts understood something rather different from the renderings given by the translators and by the PED. In fact PED's « subordinate prince » seems to be closely associated with the depreciative meaning « wattle and daub prince » which springs from the aforesaid misinterpretation of the element *kuḍḍa*; that is to say *kuḍḍa-rājan* comes to bear an odd resemblance to the so-called King Log, or Giusti's Re Travicello. The following may serve as illustrations:

SN. III, 156 ... *ye keci kuḍḍarājāno*⁵⁷ *sabbe ti rañño cakkavattissa anuyantā bhavanti.*

F. L. Woodward translates: « just as all petty princes whatsoever are subject to a universal monarch »⁵⁸. The same phrase occurs in SN. V, 44, with an unusual *varia lectio*⁵⁹, and in AN. V, 22⁶⁰; in both cases the compound is rendered by Woodward as « petty princes »⁶¹.

Another relevant passage is Ja. V, 102, 24*:

... *raṭṭhasmiṃ kuḍḍarājassa*⁶² *bahu adhammiko jano...*⁶³.

H. T. Francis translates: « Lewd folks abound within the realm, when evil kings bear sway »⁶⁴.

54. Cp. B. C. LAW, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1974, p. 103.

55. Cp. E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Berlin, 1950, p. 305.

56. *Op. cit.*, p. 304 ff. A similar passage in MPS. 33. On this subject see also A. BAREAU, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens*, II, Paris, 1971, p. 75; J. PRZYLUCKI, *Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha*, in « Journal Asiatique », 1918-20, pp.

57. vv.ll. SI *khuddha*, B *kuṭṭarājāne*.

58. *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, III, p. 133.

59. v.l. SI-3 *kuṭṭa*. The Commentary explains *kuṭṭa*- as *kuḍḍa*-, which, in Woodward's opinion, refers to a preferable reading *khudda*. See *op. cit.*, V, p. 35, n. 3.

60. vv.ll. M.Ph. *kuṭa*, Mg. (Com.) *kuḍḍaka*.

61. See F. L. WOODWARD, *op. cit.*, V, p. 35 and *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, V, p. 17.

62. vv.ll. B^a *kuṭa*-, B^a *kūta*-.

63. The same verse in Ja. 104, 5*, 27* (v.l. B^a *kuṭa*-); 105, 24* (v.l. B^a *kuṭa*-); 106, 20* (v.l. B^a *kuṭa*-).

64. *The Jataka*, V, p. 56.

Here the translator's rendering of *kuḍḍa-rājan* is clearly based on the commentary which, in supplying *ad hoc* a meaning suitable to the context, explains the compound as *pāpa-rājan*⁶⁵. This has induced the translator to render *kuḍḍa-rājan* as « evil king ». But, though his interpretation seems adequately to suit the implicit sense of the passage, the literal meaning of the context here is different. The verse refers to vassals, or minor kings, or subordinated princes, which in the aforesaid examples are mentioned in connection with and in contradistinction from a *cakkavattin* and in this case a *dhammika rājan*. As things are and since there is no trace of an intrinsic depreciatory significance in the word *kuḍḍa*, as we have tried to demonstrate, it is most likely that also here the compound is used literally in the sense of the previous quotations.

On the other hand, it is worth while looking at the corresponding *koṭṭa-rājan* (or *koṭa*⁶⁶, or *koḍḍa*⁶⁷) well attested in Buddhist Sanskrit and always used in the meaning « commander of a fort, fort-ruler ». It sometimes clearly indicates a chief of a minor and independent potentate; in other cases one of the king's retinue or at least a direct dependent of his, apparently an officer. As we intend to bring out the full relevance of this particular problem at a later date, we will not pursue here the investigation of all the context in which *koṭṭa-rājan* occurs and where it is possible to take the word as meaning « vassal prince ». We merely refer, for the present, to the very exhaustive treatment of the term in Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*⁶⁸. We will only observe here the fairly interesting political attitude of the compiler of the *Garḍaṭindu-jātaka*, who implicitly identifies a vassal with an *adhammika* king. In fact he associates the concept of unrighteous rule with the idea of a subordinate king, that is to say, a mere vassal cannot be a *dhammika rājan*. To this particular subject we shall return later⁶⁷.

Turning again to the passage of SN. III, 156 quoted above, it must be noticed that there are two parallel phrases:

MN. III, 173 ... *paṭirājāno... rañño cakkavattissa anuyuttā bhavanti*.
 Sn. 553 ... *bhoja-rājāno anuyuttā bhavanti...*⁶⁸

whence we can deduce that the three compounds *kuḍḍa-rājan*, *bhoja-rājan* and *paṭi-rājan* have the same or very similar meaning, as they appear in an identical context.

To return to the etymological question which has been till now left undiscussed: the connexion with *kṣud-* proposed by the *PED* which must be regarded as far from certain. Apart from the fact that the meaning of this root does not agree with the meaning of *kuḍḍa*, as

65. *Ja. V*, 103, 3'.

66. Cp. F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, Delhi, 1970, *sub voce*.

67. See n. 79 below.

68. An identical verse in *Th. 823*.

elicited from the manifold passages quoted above, there is no example to support the phonetic change of *kṣ* to *k* in initial position⁶⁹. Geiger distinguishes *kudḍa* « wall », which he connects with Skt. *kuḍya*, from a *kudḍa* « small » which he identifies with *khudda* = Skt. *kṣudra* and explains its de-aspiration as unetymological⁷⁰. Pischel equates *kudḍa* to Skt. *kuḍya*⁷¹. Turner's etymological connexion do not seem satisfactory, mostly as regards his separated treatments of the compounds⁷².

On the contrary we propose to provide a Dravidian etymology which seems much more satisfactory both from the phonetic and the semantic point of view. In the first place we will present a Dravidian root which seems to have a particular weight since it has a very extensive series of derivatives in most languages of that family:

Ta. *kuṭa* « curved, bent », *kuṭakkam* « bend, curve, crookedness », *kuṭakki* « that which is crooked », *kuṭaṅkar* « hut, cottage », *kuṭantam* « rotundity, anything round », *kuṭantai* « curve », *kuṭam* « house, hall, town, village, globe, sphericity », *kuṭampai* « nest, egg », *kuṭavu* « to be crooked, bent, curved » (n.) « bend, curve », *kuṭā* « bend, curve, cavity, hollow », *kuṭi* « family, house, home, mansion, town, village », *kuṭikai* « hut, temple », *kuṭical* « hut », *kuṭicai*, *kuṭiṇai* « small hut, cottage, village », *kuṭil* « hut, shed, movable conoidal roof, abode, dwelling place », *kuṭilam* « bend, crook, curve, flexure, circle, roundness », *kuṭiram* « hut, cottage », *kūṭam* « cow-stall, house, hall, open room, temple tower, palace tower », *kūṭāram* « tent, pavilion, conical covering for a bed », *kūṭu* « nest, cage, receptacle for grain, sheath, cocoon, shell, envelope, dome, cupola », *koṭu* « curved, bent, crooked », *koṭumai* « crookedness, obliquity, flexure », *koṭku* « to whirl round, move in an orbit, revolve, roam, wander », *koṭṭakam*, *koṭṭakai* « shed, cow-stall, marriage-pandal », *koṭṭakāram* « store-room, granary », *koṭṭaṭi*, *koṭṭarai* « room, store-room, cattle-shed, prisoner's cell », *koṭṭam* « cattle-shed, cow-stall », *koṭṭāram* « granary, palace », *koṭṭi* « gate », *koṭṭil* « cow-stall, shed, hut », *koṭṭu* « granary », *koṭṭai* « large rounded form, rolls of cotton prepared for spinning, small round pillow », *koṭpu* « whirling, revolving, curve, bend, circle, circuit, circular movement, tower », *kōṭam* « curve, border, limit, hut, stronghold, fortress », *kōṭal* « bending, curving », *kōṭu* « to bend, be crooked, deviate », (n.) « crookedness, obliquity, flexure, coil of hair, line, diagram, figure, as a square, circle etc., ridge, border, limit, room, stronghold, fortified place »,

69. Unetymological de-aspiration of this sound-group in medial position appears in the form *ikka* (for **ikkha*), corresponding to Skt. *ṛkṣa*, of which the regular representation is however *accha*. Cp. *Ja.* VI, 538, 1* (ct. = *accha*).

70. Cp. W. GEIGER, *Pāli Literature and Language*, Delhi, 1968², pp. 96 and 105.

71. Cp. R. PISCHEL, *Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛit Language*, Delhi, 1965², p. 197.

72. Cp. R. L. TURNER, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1966, nos. 3237, 3238, 3251, 3252.

kōṭi « bend, curve, limit, bounds », *kōṭṭam* « bend, curve, crookedness, line, figure, diagram, room, enclosure, garden, temple, prison, town, city, district, province », *kōṭṭu* « to bend, crook, cause to stoop », *kōṭṭai* « fort, castle, stronghold, fortified town, halo ».

Ma. *kuṭi* « house, hut », *kuṭiññil* « hut, thatch », *kuṭil* « hut », *kuṭilam*, « crooked, tortuous », *kuṭiram* « hut », *kūta* « hut », *kūṭāram* « tent, camp », *kūtu* « nest, receptacle, store-house », *koṭṭāram*, *koṭṭakāram* « stable, outhouse, palace, etc. », *koṭṭil* « cow-house, shed, house, barn », *kōṭṭuka* « to be crooked, twisted, awry, warp », *kōṭṭuka* « to bend », *kōṭṭam* « crookedness, distortion », *kōṭṭal* « what is crooked, turn, way of escape », *kōṭu* « fort », *kōṭṭa* « fort, residence ».

Ka. *kuḍu*, *kuda*, *kuḍi* « state of being crooked, hooked or tortuous », *koṭṭage*, *koṭige*, *koṭṭige* « stall, outhouse, barn, room », *kōṭe* « fort, rampart », *guḍasu* « anything round », *gūḍāra*, *guḍāre*, *gūḍāra* « tent », *guḍi* « circle, halo, house, temple », *guḍil*, *guḍalu*, *guḍisalu*, *guḍasalu*, *guḍasala* etc. « hut with a thatched roof », *guḍḍu*, *guḍḍi* « eyeball, egg », *gūdu* « nest, cage, pit of the stomach », *gōḍe* « wall ».

Te. *koṭika* « hamlet, small village », *kōṭa* « fort », *koṭṭāmu* « stable for cattle or horses », *koṭṭāyi* « thatched shed », *koḍavali*, *koḍvali*, *koḍali*, *koḍēli* « sickle », *gūḍāramu*, *guḍāru* « tent », *guḍi* « halo round the sun or moon, temple », *guḍise* « hut, cottage, hovel », *gūdu* « nest, cage, sheath », *guḍusu* « circle, round », *g(r)uḍḍu* « eyeball, egg », *goḍḍa* « cylindrical stone », *gōḍa* « wall », *gōḍi-vaḍu* « to bend », *gōḍi-veṭṭu* « to bend ».

To. *kury* « temple », *kuṣ* « room », *kūḍ* « nest », *kwāṭ* « bungalow », *kwīr fōl* « billhook », *kwīr magoy* « elbow », *kwīṣ* « shed for small calves ».

Ko. *kuḍl* « front room of house », *kuṛjḷ* « shed, bathroom », *kuṛl* « hut », *kōṭ* « castle, palatial mansion », *kōṇḍ* « bend », *kōṇṭ gir* « rainbow », *gury* « temple », *gūr* (obl. *gūt*-) « nest, large hollow, belly », *gōṛ* (obl. *gōṭ*-) « wall ».

Koḍ. *kuḍi* « family of servants living in one hut », *koṭṭi* « shed », *koṭṭi katti* « billhook », *kōṭe* « palace », *guḍi* « nest, pen ».

Tu. *koṭya* « shed, stall », *koṭṭa* « hut, dwellings of Koragars », *kōṭè* « fort », *guḍāra* « tent », *guḍi* « small pagoda or shrine », *guḍisaḷu*, *guḍisiḷu*, *guḍsiḷu*, *guḍicilu* « hut, shed », *guḍke* « crooked man », *gūdu* « nest, cocoon, cage », *gōḍè* « wall ».

Kol. *koḍval*, *koṛva* « sickle », *koṛka*, *korkā* « cow-shed », *guḍi* « temple », *goḍā* « wall ».

Pa. *kūdaṅgey* « elbow », *koḍka* « billhook », *guḍi* « temple, village resthouse », *gūḍa* « nest ».

Nk. *koṛka* « cow-shed », *koṛval* « sickle ».

Ga. (OIL.): *konḍke* « billhook », *guḍi* « temple », *gūḍe* « nest ».

Konḍa: *guḍu* « egg », *velgu gōḍa*, *madru gōḍa* « compound wall ».

Kui: *kīrenji* « cage », *konḍori*, *konḍoni* « bent, winding, zigzag », *kōṇḍa* « to curl, be curly, bent, twisted », *guḍi* « central room of

house, living room », *gōṭori*, *gōṭoni* « hooked, bent like a hook ».
Br.: *kōṇḍō* « bent double ».

Go.: *kunamkai*, *kunagay* « elbow », *koṭa*, *koṭam* « cow-shed », *koṭka* « shed », *guḍi*, *guḍḍi*, *guṇi* « temple », *gūḍā* « nest ».

Malt.: *koṭa* « hamlet »⁷³.

Kuwi: *kūda* « cage ».

In dealing with these words mention may also be made of other series of Dravidian words which present a semantic affinity with them and are characterized by the internal consonants *-r-* and *-t-* (simple or geminate) instead of *-ṭ-* or *-ṭṭ-*. This being the case, it seems possible to connect these sets of words with those quoted above. The various forms point to an alternation *-ṭṭ-* / *-rr-* / *-tt-* (or *-ṭ-* / *-r-* / *-t-*) to which we have already briefly drawn attention elsewhere⁷⁴:

- 1) Ta. *kuṛaṇṭu* « to be crooked or bent, be convulsed, have spasm, coil up as a reptile », *kuṛicci* « hamlet, village, small town », *kuṛumpar* « mischief-maker », *kuṛumpar* « petty chieftains », *kuṛumpu* « village, town, stronghold, fort, petty chieftains, wickedness, mischief », *kuṛuppu* « chief », *kūrṛam* « division of a country in ancient times », *kōrai* « defect, blemish, hole, cavity, hollow as in a tooth ».

Ma. *kuṛuppu* « fort, manor », *kuṛumpu* « haughtiness, insolence ».
Ka. *kuṛike* « village », *kuṛumba* « man belonging to a fort », *kuṛumpu*, *kuṛumpi* « stubbornness, foolishness ».

- 2) Ta. *kutampai* « ear-rings, rolls of palmyra leaves or cloths worn in the ear-lobe to widen the perforation », *kutir* « circular earthen receptacle for storing grain », *kotumpu* « coco-nut fibre or husk », *kottam* (or *korṛam*)⁷⁵ « limit, boundary », *kottaḷam* « bastion, part of a rampart », *kōttai* « cariousness, defect, incompleteness, blemish, fibrous rising on cloth, scab, scale », *kōtam* « fault », *kōtu* « deviation, deflection, fault, blemish, defect, error, empty kernels of grain, fibre, covering, capsule, pod ».

Ma. *kutir* « small mounds of earth in ricefields », *kotumpu*, *kotumpil* « husk of corn, covering of coco-nut blossoms », *kottaḷam*, *kottaḷam* « bulwark, bastion ».

73. Br. *kuḍi*, *kuḍḍi* « hut, small house » is reborrowed from Indo-Aryan, as also are Kur. *kuṛyā* « small shed or outhouse » and Malt. *kuṛya* « hut ». Cp. T. BURROW, *Dravidian Studies III*, in « Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies » (BSOAS), XI, 1943-46, p. 137.

74. Cp. M. D'ONZA CHIODO-E. PANATTONI, *On a rare word in Pāli and its Dravidian etymology*, in « *Ṛtam* », 1980, pp. 811-818. A consideration of several Dravidian series of words points to an alternation *-ṭṭ-* / *-rr-* / *-tt-* (or *-ṭ-* / *-r-* / *-t-*) on the part of the consonant group. As a consequence, these series, each joined by a common meaning, may be regarded as etymologically connected.

75. Cp. M. WINSLOW, *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil*, Madras, 1862, *sub voce* *kottam*.

Ka. *kudir* « receptacle for grain, granary », *kottaḷa*, *kottala* « bulwark, bastion ».

Te. *krottaḷamu*, *k(r)ottadamu* « bastion ».

Tu. *kottaḷa*, *kottala* « bulwark, bastion », *kodumbu*, *kudumbu* « cymbiform sheath of a bunch of coco-nuts ».

In the second place we may note three other series of Dravidian words which show a close phonetic and semantic similarity with those listed above and present the same phenomenon of alternation. If we consider their initial consonant *c-* as an instance of a recognized fluctuation of the initial *k*⁷⁶, then we may posit a common origin for them and all the terms previously taken into consideration.

- 1) Ta. *cūṭakam*, *cūṭā* « bracelet », *cūṭu* « to become bent or warped, surround, envelope, wear », *cūṭṭu* « to adorn, as with garlands, « chain-ornaments, wear », (n.) « casemate in a fortress », *coṭi* « to shrink », *coṭṭu* « defect, blemish, insinuation », *coṭṭai* « crookedness, bend, crooked club or sword, dent, excavation, furrow, cavity », *cōṭṭā* « club with a curved end ».

Ma. *caṭṭu* « lameness », *caṭattuka* « to limp », *coṭṭa* « crooked sword ».

Ka. *coṭṭa*, *coṭṭi*, *coṭṭu*, *soṭṭa*, *soṭṭu* « crookedness, crooked », *sūḍaga*, *sūḍiga* « bracelet ».

Te. *sūḍigamu* « bracelet », *coṭṭa*, *soṭṭa* « lame, crippled, crooked, withered », (n.) « lameness, crookedness, dent, depression, dimple, small pit or hollow », *soḍḍu* « defect, fault, blame, imputation ».

Tu. *cūḍa*, *cūḍaga* « bracelet », *coṭṭa*, *coṭṭu*, *coṭṭe* « handleless, maimed or deformed in the hand ».

Ga. (Oll.): *soṭaṭonḍ* (m.), *soṭṭe* (f. and n.) « lame ».

Pe. *coṭa* « lame ».

Konda: *soṭa* « deformed man ».

Kuwi: *sōti*, *sotta*, *soto*, *soṭā* « lame ».

- 2) Ta. *curru* « to revolve, circulate, turn around, whirl, wind about, spin, take a circuitous course, wander about, move here and there, be coiled, lie encircling; go round, circle, enwrap, entwine, embrace, encompass, surround, wear round, coil up, roll up, circumvent », (n.) « moving round, revolving, passing round in an orbit, rolling, circumference, bounding space, circuit, compass, roundabout way, periphery, limit, surroundings, regions on the border, coil, roll, envelope, surrounding wall, fortification »⁷⁷, *cūru* « to surround, encompass », *cūrai*, *cūrāvali*, *cūrāvāri* « whirlwind ».

76. Cp. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN, *A History of Tamil Language*, Poona, 1965, p. 26; K. ZVELEBIL, *Dravidian Comparative Phonology*, The Hague, 1970, p. 90.

77. In particular the following compounds may be noted: *curru-c-cuvar currāral* « surrounding wall », *curru-matil* « surrounding wall » and also « tower, fortress », and *curru-k-kōṭṭai* « circular fortification ».

Ma.: *cura* « circle, coil », *curappu* « tortuosity », *curayuka* « to turn round, wriggle », *curekka* « to roll up, wind up, tie round », *curram* « what is round about », *curru* « what is circular, circumference, ring », *curruka* « to be about, go about, roll round, wrap, put on », *corra* « worm-eaten, as sugar cane, etc. ».

Ka. *cutṭa*, *cutṭi* « a thing rolled up », *suttal* « round about, state of being round about », *suttisu* « to cause to go round, etc. », *suttu* « to surround, encompass, wrap round, wind, roll up, go round, circumambulate », (n.) « that surrounds, enclosure, state of being enclosed, circumference, compass, coil, coiled ring, walk round, turn » *suttuvike* « turning round, etc. ».

Te. *cuṭṭ* « roll, coil, ring », *cuṭṭu* « to roll, pass round, wrap, wind, encircle, encompass, go round, circumambulate », (n.) « round, circuit, going round, ring, roundabout », (adv.) « all-around, on all sides ».

Ko. *cut-* « to wander, wrap around, coil, twirl ».

To. *tūt-* « to wander around, wind, whirl, wear », *tudpy* « circle, round place ».

Kod. *cutt-* « to wind around, wander about ».

Tu. *sutta* « circumference, circuit », *suttāvuni* « to cause to wind », *suttuni* « to wind, roll, wrap, surround », *sunduni* « to wind, roll », *tuttu* « dressing », *tuttuni* « to dress, wear, clothe ».

Kol. *suṭ* « to wind » (< Te.).

Nk. *suṭṭ* « to wind ».

Pa. *cutt-* « to wind round ».

Ga. *cuṭṭ-* « to roll up ».

Kuwi: *sūtali* « to roll up », *sūtū* « around ».

- 3) Ta. *cūttai* « that which is decayed, as tooth, fruits, etc. », *cotti* « lameness, crippledness, deformity », *cottai* « defect as in limbs, teeth, fruits, etc.; being ruined in circumstances or character ».

Ma. *cotta* « worm-eaten, as sugar-cane, etc. », *cotti-kai* « withered hand ».

Ko. *cot* « deep depression on the arm where rope or chain has been tied ».

Ka. *cotta*, *sotta* « male with crooked, crippled limbs », *cottu*, *sottu* « crookedness, crooked ».

Taking into consideration the manifold senses of all the words listed above, we may remark an evident development of meaning from the basic notion of « crookedness, obliquity, bend, curve » to that of « stronghold, fort », passing through the intermediate semantic stages « line, diagram, figure as a square, circle etc. » and « wall, room, hut, house, town »⁷⁸. The semantic thread linking the concepts « bend, curve,

78. Note the conceptual proximity of « enclosure » on the one hand and « peel, husk, scale, capsule » on the other, as the common idea of « envelope » is involved here.

crookedness », « line, figure, diagram », « enclosure, garden, room, prison, temple, town, city » and finally « district, province » is clearly found in the Tamil term *kōṭṭam*⁷⁹. This development can fairly be seen also in *kōṭu*, while in *kōṭṭai* the specialized signification « fort » has survived at the expense of the general meaning and its connexion with the primary sense of the root is only shown by an intermediate « halo »⁸⁰. The specific notion of « wall » is evidenced only by some languages, namely Kannaḍa (*gōḍe*), Telugu (*gōḍa*), Kota (*gōr*, obl. *gōṭ-*), Tulu (*gōḍē*), Kolami (*goḍā*). Note that this particular meaning is attested in Tamil merely in the alternative form beginning with *c-*, *curru*.

79. Therefore, in our opinion, the *Tamil Lexicon* is unconvincing in giving a separate entry and a different etymology for *kōṭṭam* in the meaning « room, enclosure, temple, prison, etc. ». For the sake of completeness, a further point should be made about *kōṭṭam* and its allied term *kūrṛam*, which seem to have a particular weight, both from the historical and from the linguistic point of view. It is well-known that in the Caṅkam age the Tamil country was divided into small administrative units called *kōṭṭam* and *kūrṛam*, comparable to the districts of the present day. A few administrative divisions were made to meet certain military and police exigencies. It was on such considerations, for example, that a fort was made the nucleus of the division which comprised the region surrounding it. It is not possible to determine with absolute certainty the exact connotation of *kōṭṭam* and *kūrṛam*. Nevertheless we venture to suggest that these terms, evidently connected from the semantic point of view, would correspond also phonetically and each of them could be considered as a variant of the other one. The equation is to be based on the Dravidian alternation to which we have already drawn attention in this paper. Hence there is no serious objection to them being in origin one and the same. It is worth while looking at certain words indicating a district, province, administrative division of Southern India, which, as well as *kōṭṭam* and *kūrṛam*, have originally the basic meaning « circularity, enclosure », whence « enclosure of a town or village, fence, wall, edge, etc ». See for instance: *maṇḍala*, *vaṇaṇāḍu*, *vaṭita*, *bāḍa*, etc. If it is accepted that *kūrṛam* is a variant form of *kōṭṭam*, there is no longer reason to consider further the proposal of most Tamil dictionaries to seek its origin in the root *kuṛu*. The Tamil *kuṛumpu* « stronghold, fort » may also be traced to the same root. One might see in it a semantic development parallel to that of *kōṭṭam* and *kōṭṭai*. Moreover the idea of « enclosure » is suggested also by the other meanings « hamlet, village, town », provided for *kuṛumpu*. In their *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* Burrow and Emeneau treat in a different group of etyma (no. 1530) some words which, in our opinion, are closely connected with *kuṛumpu*, namely Ta. *kuṛumpar* and *kuṛumpu*, both in the meaning « petty chieftains », and Ma. *kuṛuppu* « chief ». There seems to be no formal or basic semantic reason for this separation, all the more that they put Ka. *kuṛumpa* « a man belonging to a fort » under the same entry (no. 1542) as *kuṛumpu* « fort ». It is interesting to observe in this connexion that N. Subrahmanian (*Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, Madras, 1966, p. 307) translates *kuṛumpu* also as « insubordinate feudatories », whence he deduces the popular word for insubordination and mischief. Note also that the *Tamil Lexicon* renders *kuṛumpiṇmai* as « freedom from petty troublesome chieftains as promoting the prosperity of a state ». May we postulate a correspondence between these definitions and the equation *kuḍḍa-rājan* = *pāpa-rājan* referred to above (p. 154)? On the historical questions see N. SUBRAHMANYAN, *Saṅgam Polity*, London, 1966, p. 113; T. V. MAHALINGAM, *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1967, pp. 310-14; T. V. MAHALINGAM, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, part I, Madras, 1969, pp. 186-87; K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, *The Colas*, Madras, 1975, p. 465.

80. Cp. *Tamil Lexicon*, *sub voce*.

We may now return to the Pāli word *kuḍḍa* above discussed and its compound *kuḍḍa-rājan*. The connexion of *kuḍḍa* with the aforesaid Dravidian forms can easily be seen when attention is drawn to their phonetic correspondance and, at the same time, to their almost identical range of meaning. As previously pointed out, *kuḍḍa* indicates a surrounding or enclosure wall, a fence, a stronghold. It seems better hence to regard this term as being of non-Aryan origin, connected with the above series of Dravidian words.

In Sanskrit too the influence of the same Dravidian root may plausibly be found⁸¹. A certain number of Sanskrit words, which are only attested in the lexicographers or in late or Buddhist texts⁸², may be traced to this source:

kuṭati « to become crooked or curved, bend, curve, curl », *kuṭika* « bent, crooked », *kuṭila(ka)* « bent, crooked, curved, round, curled », *koṭaka* « curving, bending », *kuṭi* « curve, hut, hall », *kuṭikā*, *kuṭaka*, *kuṭira* « hut », *kuṭaṅgaka*, *kuṭuṅgaka* « hut, cottage, granary, store-room », *kuṭaru* « tent », *koṭa* « curvature, diagram, hut, fort, stronghold », *kūṭa* « fort, stronghold », *koṭṭa* « fort, stronghold » (with its already mentioned compound *koṭṭa-rājan*), *koṭṭāra* « stronghold, fortified town », *kūḍyā*, *kuḍyaka* « wall ».

In this series it is worth while looking in particular at *koṭa*, which preserves the same semantic extension observed in the Dravidian languages. Moreover another such word needs a little further examination: *kūḍyā* — the only term meaning « wall » in the list — shows the voiced cerebral with semi-vowel (-ḍy-), which appears to be an anomalous and peculiar feature in comparison with all the other Sanskrit words, where the Dravidian form of the root is retained. But this term can be easily explained on the assumption that the original Dravidian forms gave rise directly to Pāli *kuḍḍa*, and that *kūḍyā* is a false sanskritization of this, an artificial reconstruction based on the correspondence -ḍḍ- = -ḍy- of MIA and Sanskrit, i.e. the Dravidian loan-word may have

81. Cp. R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, New Delhi, 1st Indian ed. 1974, pp. 569, 570 and 617; F. KITTEL, *A Kannada-English Dictionary*, Mangalore 1889, pp. XXX-XXXI, nos. 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, and p. XXXIX, no. 360; H. GUNDELT, *Die dravidischen Elemente im Sanskrit*, in «Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft», XXIII, 1869, pp. 520-22. They are, however, wrong in connecting Skt. *kuṭi* and related words meaning « hut, house, etc. » with the Dravidian root *kuṭ* « to come together, to be together ». Cp. also T. BURROW, *Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit*, in «Transaction of the Philological Society» (TPS), 1945, pp. 94-5; T. BURROW, *Loanwords in Sanskrit*, in TPS, 1946, p. 8; T. BURROW, *Dravidian Studies III*, in BSOAS, XI, 1943-46, p. 137; T. BURROW, *Dravidian Studies VII*, in BSOAS, XII, 1948, p. 376, no. 106; A. N. UPADHYE, *Kanarese Words in Deśi Lexicons*, in «Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute», XII, 1931, p. 281.

82. The meaning « house » proposed for *kuṭa* in RV. 1, 46, 4, has proved on closer scrutiny by the Vedic scholars of the Istituto di Glottologia, University of Pisa, as quite improbable.

passed to the Sanskrit through an intermediate Pāli form, as it often happens that a Sanskrit word goes back to a Dravidian one *via* Prakrit.

In effect the same Dravidian root has originated in Pāli an equally considerable set of derivatives, in addition to those already dealt with in this paper:

kuṭaka « cheat », *kuṭava* « nest », *kuṭikā* « little hut », *kuṭila* « bent, crooked », *kuṭilatā* « crookedness », *kuṭi* « hut, shed, cot, cabin » and its compounds, *kūṭa* « falsehood, deceit », *kūṭeyya* « fraud, deceit », *koṭilla* « crookedness ».

The existence of the same root in all the Finno-Ugrian tongues provides additional evidence for the conclusion that it was not borrowed by the Dravidian languages from the Sanskrit. Compare the Finno-Ugrian root **kota* and its derivatives⁸³.

It may not be profitless to mention here an article by Przyluski, where he remarks that in Indonesia many names indicating inhabited places end in *-kuta* « fortress, town, village ». He produces also a list of Munda words that go back, in his opinion, to an old form **kātu* « village » and connects both these Austro-asiatic forms with a number of verbs meaning « to enclose, surround, fence, mostly by a wall »⁸⁴. Contrary to what was generally accepted, Przyluski proposed these forms as the original ones from which Skt. *kuṭa* and allied terms are to be derived, but the main weight of evidence is against his hypothesis, as this paper has aimed to show. We should thus conclude that the Dravidian root must be regarded as native and that its derivatives have had a very wide currency not only in Pāli and Sanskrit, but outside India too, in Austro-asiatic languages as far as Indonesia⁸⁵.

83. Fi. *kota* « conic cooking-hut, hut, tent, womb », *koti*, *koto* « house, dwelling, abide », *kotelo* « sheath, case, envelope », *kodus*, *kotus*, *kotos* « hut, shed »; Kr.-Ol. *koda* « hut, womb »; Vot. *keta* « room, kitchen »; Est. *koda* « hut, house, room »; Lv. *k'odā* « building, house »; LpN. *goatte* « Lappish tent, hut »; MdE. *kudo* M. *kud* « house, room »; Ch. *kuo* « Cheremis summerhut »; East. *kuo* « cooking-hut, womb »; Vty. *kwa*, *kwaka* « summerhut », *-ko*: *vu-ko* « water-mill », *-ka*: *kor-ka* « house »; Zyr. *kola* « primitive hut », *-ka*: *ker-ka* « house », *-ko*, *-ke*, *-ku*: *vit's-ko* « church »; Os. *Xot*, *kat* « hut, house, tent »; Hu. *ház* « house, room, abide ». Cp. A. J. JOKI, *Uralier und Indogermanen*, Helsinki, 1973, pp. 272-73; B. COLLINDER, *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary*, Stockholm, 1955, pp. 130-31; S. A. TYLER, *Dravidian and Uralian: the Lexical Evidence*, in « Language », 44, 1968, pp. 802 ff.; O. SCHRADER, *Dravidisch und Uralisch*, in « Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik », 3, 1925, p. 88; R. CALDWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 569.

84. Cp. J. PRZYLUSKI, *Noms de villes indiennes dans la Géographie de Ptolémée*, in « Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris », 27, 1927, pp. 224-25.

85. Cp. A. ANJANEYULU, *Tamil Words in Indonesian and Malayan Languages*, in « Tamil Culture », IX, 1, 1961, p. 50.